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17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

891 217 [554] 875 [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

891 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

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CHAPTER IV

53 ## ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

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53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

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The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 [178] The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual 585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [521] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in [535] [538]

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(539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

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The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

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Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

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with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

/369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven 538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Hörg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the 538 596 887 867 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways [626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

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53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural [197] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

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53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function
462 or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
561 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

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53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

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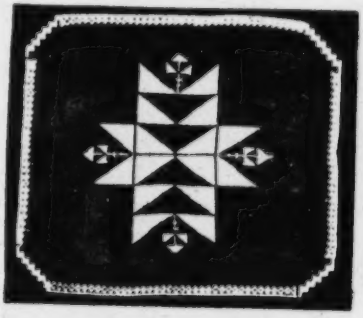

Fig. 107

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53 152 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 533 539 152 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

--My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
--You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/383 cont./

182 789 955 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 53 789 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art, specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send